

McCarthy to Trial—*an Editorial*

THE *Nation*

July 29, 1950

How Big a Job?

Washington Counts Costs - - *Willard Shelton*

Our Record in Korea - - - - *Stewart Meacham*

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Can We Do Business with the Vatican?

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

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THE *Nation*

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The Shape of Things

THOSE WHO ARE BUYING SUGAR BY THE barrel—if barrels of sugar still can be bought at retail—or are ordering new cars months before they had planned to do so are creating the scarcities and high prices against which they are presumably trying to protect themselves. Food production is at an extremely high level, and an automobile industry running at peak capacity would before many months, under ordinary conditions, collide with a buyer's market and have to slow down. What the panic purchasers are betting on is an all-out war, which would really restrict supplies. Nobody can definitely say they are mistaken; the fear of Russia has certainly been exploited to a point where no other public reaction could be expected. If all-out war does not come, the market shortages may soon correct themselves. What is needed now is a firm assurance that, war or no war, no price inflation will be permitted. This assurance could be realistically supported by two proposals conspicuously missing from President Truman's message to Congress and his radio address to the people. One is a definite plan to raise taxes enough to balance the budget in the immediate future, so that the government would be taking from the pocketbooks of the public as much as it pays back. The other is an iron-clad assurance that if war expenditures do rise sufficiently to make price control necessary, prices will be rolled back to the level of June 25. The knowledge that anyone who bought things at a higher price would be throwing away his money would soon check speculation in goods.

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FIRM MEASURES LIKE THESE ARE ALL THE more necessary because we were on the brink of inflation without the war scare. Few understand that it is not primarily military expenditures but civilian demands that constitute the most explosive price-lifting potential. The Department of Labor has announced that the rise in the prices of consumer goods in the month before the attack on South Korea was greater than for any previous month. Employment has been mounting rapidly; consumers credit is going; private investments, especially in housing, are booming. The President's action to restrict consumer and mortgage credit would have been desirable in any case. This crisis hits us at a high in the business cycle which makes the situation very different from

that in 1939. Then, nearly ten million persons were unemployed, and much industrial equipment was idle. We were in a position to develop our production and so to spend half our national income on war while actually maintaining the average living standard of the public at its pre-war level. Now we are at an extremely high level of employment and production. The Communists are wrong in saying that we seek war to avoid unemployment and collapse. War is extremely uncomfortable for us, for civilians are already gobbling up almost everything we can make. The proper time to organize and impose all necessary controls against inflation was a month ago.

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STUMBLING OVER THEIR FEET IN A BLIND effort to prove their dislike of American Communists, members of Congress are dangerously close to passing a series of repressive measures which would be more appropriate to a police state than to a democracy. One bill, passed by the House two weeks ago, is the long-familiar Hobbs concentration-camp measure. To meet the "menace" of 3,000 "criminal or subversive" aliens who cannot be deported because their own countries refuse to accept their return, the Hobbs bill would allow the Attorney General to lock them up for the rest of their lives, not for specific unpunished crimes but simply because they are deemed undesirable. This bill is unnecessary since the general criminal code covers specific "criminal or subversive" acts by members of the group. Another bill, passed by the House and currently pending in the Senate, would expand and make permanent the authority possessed by some sensitive government agencies to discharge employees who are considered bad security risks. All protections of the President's loyalty review program and of basic civil-service laws would be discarded. If the bill is passed, any government employee may be made the victim of personal animosity and may be accused, prosecuted, and convicted by a single official.

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COMING UP IN THE SENATE, FURTHERMORE, is a Republican drive to pass the Mundt-Ferguson-Nixon Communist-control bill. This measure would require registration of membership in so-called "fellow-traveling" organizations, as well as of actual Communists, and would thus effectively outlaw all such groups. Passage of this act would, in effect, extend even farther the philosophy of the Smith act, under which eleven Commu-

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Editor and Publisher: Freda Kirchwey

Executive Editor: Harold C. Field

Foreign Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo *Literary Editor* Margaret Marshall

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Washington Editor: Willard Shelton

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Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Staff Contributors

Carey McWilliams, Reinhold Niebuhr, Maxwell S. Stewart,
J. King Gordon, Ralph Bates, Andrew Roth

Business & Advertising Manager: Hugo Van Arx

Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

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nist leaders were convicted, at a time when the constitutionality of that act is before the courts. The handful of Communists in this country can easily be dealt with by existing agencies under existing laws if the occasion arises. Mr. Truman can veto all these bills if they reach his desk, but he should not be compelled to dissipate his energies in teaching Congress a proper respect for elementary civil liberties.

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REPORTS FROM BIRMINGHAM AND DETROIT indicate that war is also having the usual effect of stimulating idiocy in local legislatures. In the automobile city the disease so far takes the form of banning the *Daily Worker* and other "subversive periodicals" from the sidewalk newsstands, with the police left to decide what is subversive. This promises a carnival of censorship and should raise fears even in the tower of the *Chicago Tribune*, which is just about as sour on the Korean war as the *Worker* (see *Man Bites Dog*, page 105). In the Alabama metropolis the city fathers go much farther. An ordinance unanimously adopted by the City Commission gives Communists 48 hours to get out of town, on penalty of a fine and 180 days in jail. Finding that the war in Korea creates a "clear and present danger" to the safety of Birmingham, the commission takes no chances. Not only does the law extend to admitted Communists and to all those found distributing Communist literature but to anyone who associates with them. Party membership is to be taken for granted if a person "shall be found in any secret or non-public place in voluntary association or communication with any person or persons established to be or to have been members of the Communist Party." Like Louis F. Budenz, for example? Obviously the ordinance won't stand up ten minutes in a court of law, and we doubt that its authors ever thought it would. More likely it was one of those gaudy gestures with which peanut politicians habitually draw attention to themselves in times of national crisis. The American Civil Liberties Union has called for a test case, and we hope the challenge is made quickly. Birmingham has no monopoly on self-serving politicians, and once the hysteria spreads, grave damage can be done before the courts restore a measure of sanity.

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CARL VAN DOREN, WHO DIED LAST WEEK, played an important role as editor and critic in the years when contemporary American literature counted among its newest comers such writers as Willa Cather, Sinclair Lewis, Theodore Dreiser, and Sherwood Anderson. And it was in the pages of *The Nation*, of which he was literary editor from 1919 to 1922, that he first emerged as the introducer, critic, and defender when necessary of the rising literary generation. For many years after that, as editor of the *Century* maga-

zine, as one of the editors of the first American book club, and as the author of books of criticism, Mr. Van Doren wielded great influence in the literary world. Later on, his own writing interest turned to American history—of the Revolutionary period—and in 1936 he won the Pulitzer Prize for his biography of Benjamin Franklin. His last book was "The Great Rehearsal" in which he drew from the story of the federation of the thirteen colonies lessons in principle and procedure that might be useful, to a world divided against itself, in new and wider experiments in federation. It need hardly be said that his interest in the work of other writers remained constant, and by a great many he will be remembered not only for his personal charm but also for his words and acts of kindness and encouragement.

McCarthy to Trial

AS LONG as a member of Congress does not commit treason, a felony, or a breach of the peace, he is answerable for his behavior only to Congress itself. But he *is* answerable, and it is for the Senate now to call Joseph R. McCarthy to its own bar of justice.

What corresponds to an indictment against the Wisconsin Senator has been brought in by a majority of an important Senate subcommittee which was created to look into charges against the State Department made by McCarthy himself. Mindful of the traditions of the national legislature, by which members do not as a rule question the motives or integrity of their colleagues no matter how great the political tension, the majority nevertheless felt compelled to denounce McCarthy in terms all but unprecedented on Capitol Hill. His accusations concerning alleged Communists in the State Department it termed the "most nefarious campaign of half-truths and untruth in the history of this Republic," "a fraud and a hoax perpetrated on the Senate . . . and the American people." One by one it cleared the men and women whom McCarthy had recklessly damned as Communists and spies, and, regarding the Senator's categorical statements, it repeatedly gave him the lie: "Senator McCarthy at no time has had the names of fifty-seven card-carrying members of the Communist Party in the State Department"; "there is not one member of the Communist Party or of a 'spy ring' employed in the State Department known to the Secretary of State," etc. McCarthy, said the subcommittee's report, "misled and deceived" the Senate, and it bluntly attributed to him Hitler's technique of the "Big Lie."

After an indictment as sweeping as that, it would seem incredible for the Senate to let the matter drop. If McCarthy is guilty as charged, it is monstrous to assume that we must endure him as a maker of our laws until

the people of Wisconsin have a chance to vote on him two and a half years from now. Mercilessly exposing McCarthy on the floor of the upper house, Senator Tydings strongly suggested that action be taken "to preserve the integrity of this body." We do not believe that mere acceptance of the report, on an incredibly straight party vote, constitutes such action.

It is particularly worth noting that even McCarthy's Republican colleagues are feeble in his defense. The dissenting report of Senator Lodge has little to say in his behalf. It shares with the majority the view that McCarthy's charges were unproved, but it abstains from questioning his motives, belittling the conclusions of the subcommittee only on the ground that its investigation lacked thoroughness. Senator Wherry has set up the howl to be expected from the majority leader in a case that reflects so badly on one of his party, but the report itself indicates that he remarked privately: "Mac has gone out on a limb and kind of made a fool of himself and we have to back him up now"—a statement that Wherry strongly denies having made. Taft pretends to an indignation which, if genuine, reveals only that his highly touted intellect has become curiously perverted. He finds the report "derogatory and insulting to the Senate"—as though to call a Senator a liar after an investigation were somehow worse than to call an ordinary citizen a traitor without investigation.

Whether or not McCarthy is guilty of wilful fraud, and the evidence against him is black as pitch, the Senate as a whole has no license to ignore the charge of men like Tydings, Green, and McMahon, who drew up the indictment. To do so is to put a Senator above the laws laid down to protect people against libel, slander, and malicious mischief. The framers of the Constitution had no intention of so elevating the representatives of the people. As Walter Lippmann has brilliantly pointed out, in the so-called immunity clause—"for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place"—the key-word is *other*. They may, and they must, be questioned in Congress itself, either house of which may, on a two-thirds' vote, expel a member for improper behavior.

Both Lodge and the subcommittee majority question—and with good reason—the entire system now in use for determining the loyalty of government employees. They suggest, instead, an independent commission of Congressmen and private citizens, differing on the question of composition and method of appointment. Actually the entire procedure of Congressional investigation is due for an airing, the various loyalty probes being only the most flagrant departures from decent judicial standards. Senator Lucas some months ago introduced a bill that would at least compel Congressional committees to grant the basic safeguards inherent in Anglo-Saxon law—the right of the defendant, as it

were, to be heard, to have his own witnesses subpoenaed, and to cross-examine his accusers. But even more far-reaching changes than this appear to be necessary if individuals are to be protected from what is beginning to shape up as a form of Congressional tyranny. In the nature of things, investigations highly charged with politics cannot successfully be conducted by men whose very careers depend on politics and who, in any case, are not equipped to do the probing. Even when they are conscientious in the extreme, the public itself is unlikely to receive their findings with the confidence it would extend to an independent body.

Ultimately the answer may lie in recourse to specially appointed agencies, like the Moreland Commissions of New York or the Crown Commissions of England, on whose findings, trusted by the public, the legislative branch may act without loss of dignity or power. Obviously this is a long-range proposal, calling for careful study. For the short range, we can think of nothing that would so restore the prestige of the Senate than a full investigation of McCarthy's behavior and the ultimate test of whether two-thirds of his colleagues think him worthy of a seat in what has been called "the greatest deliberative body in the world."

Washington Counts Costs

BY WILLARD SHELTON

Washington, July 21

AS CONGRESS moved to take up President Truman's request for something approaching war mobilization, few informed persons here believed that the additional ten billion dollars for military spending and the partial economic controls asked by the President would be sufficient to meet the responsibility the United States has now assumed—a responsibility summed up in Mr. Truman's deliberately phrased warning that any further military thrust by the Soviets or their satellites anywhere in the world would be met by American armed resistance. Our commitment is unlimited, and only the Russians—not the Taft-Wherry Republicans who complain about the scope of the President's requested war powers—can determine what price must be paid in blood and taxes.

We have not yet found an answer to the Soviet propaganda offensive, which combines exploitation of the "Stockholm" peace appeal and of the negotiations with Prime Minister Nehru of India with familiar Soviet broadsides against American "imperialists" and "Wall Street warmongers." We have been slowfooted and clumsy; we have let days pass in which Stalin was represented to the peoples of Asia as peace-loving and reasonable, while by delaying our own reply to Nehru's mediation proposals we allowed ourselves to be put on the defensive. The President's message to Congress and his speech to the people strongly emphasized the moral reasons for our intervention in Korea and the principle of support of the United Nations. That is where the State Department wanted the emphasis placed. But there is widespread feeling that the message and speech might well have come a week earlier. When American troops are fighting thousands of miles away to establish the doctrine that aggression anywhere will be treated as a threat to freedom and security everywhere, it is not pleasant to see ourselves even tem-

porarily outmaneuvered in appeals to important segments of world opinion.

The delay in replying to Nehru was the less excusable because there was never any difference of opinion in the government about the proper answer. The Indian Prime Minister's good faith in advancing his mediation proposals was accepted completely, but neither in the White House nor in the State Department nor in Congress was there any important disposition to accept the idea that the Korean dilemma could be resolved by our voting for Chinese Communist membership in the Security Council and Russia thereupon calling off its boycott of the U. N. and perhaps using its "influence" to make the North Koreans withdraw.

Secretary Acheson's eventual reply to Nehru was phrased with the courtesy and respect which the Indian leader's prestige required. Within the government many people understand that recognition of Mao Tse-tung's regime as the de facto government of China and its admission to the Security Council are inescapable necessities, and that our position has been seriously damaged by the Republican champions of Chiang Kai-shek, whose clamor has forced the Administration to procrastinate. But Acheson's flat rejection made it clear that we would not tolerate what he considered a Soviet diplomatic triumph gained through boycott of the U. N., the North Korean aggression, and an offer of "peace" conditional on our paying the price. Nehru's proposals thus created a difficult situation for the Administration; we are fighting in Korea in pursuance of a Security Council resolution for which India voted, and the State Department would have welcomed reemphasis of that simple fact in the Indian government's official notes to the Soviet Union. None the less, there was still no good reason for the President's delay in formally restating our position.

The defeats we have suffered have had a devastating

effect on American prestige in many areas, including the Middle East, where countries close to the centers of Soviet power are watching what happens to a nation which must depend on American aid at the end of supply lines reaching across half the world. But it is important to realize that in the private statements of military leaders here, as well as in the report of General MacArthur to the President, the belief is expressed that we can hold a vital beachhead in Korea until we have built up the reinforcements necessary for a counter-offensive. We may be driven back to a perimeter of perhaps fifty miles around the essential ports, but no Dunkerque is expected.

Our commanders are acutely aware of the overriding political importance of aid from other members of the United Nations. They would prefer contributions of the size of regiments, brigades, or full divisions, but they will gladly accept the aid of national units as small as battalions of perhaps 750 men. The natural preference of all generals is for homogeneous fighting forces; enormous difficulties arise with differences in equipment and language, and the logistic problems of war in Korea are desperately serious. The decisive factor, however, is that in the long months of battle which lie ahead Mr. Truman intends that our conduct shall be entirely harmonious with our stated principle that we are fighting a U. N. police action and will welcome the assistance of other U. N. members in forming a truly international force.

What remains unsettled is whether—and where and when—another blow will be struck. A flurry of apprehension swept government offices when Trygve Lie and other U. N. officials observed that the so-called "Free Greek" radio in Albania was building up charges that Greece was massing troops to invade Albania and Bulgaria. Lie sent the U. N. Balkan Commission to the frontier and received a report that no massing of troops or preparation for invasion was taking place. The natural assumption was that the Albanians and Bulgars might be preparing to attack Greece. There are many spots on the perimeter of the Soviet orbit where limited engagements might be fought which, without involving Russian troops, would impose a serious drain on Western resources. Some State Department observers think that the most certain new theater of operations is Formosa. Should Mao Tse-tung launch an amphibious invasion, the United States Seventh Fleet would have the embarrassing duty of shelling and bombing the landing barges, and our

forces would be in direct conflict with the conquerors of the Chinese mainland. An order from MacArthur which enforced the cease-fire imposed on Chiang's Nationalists was followed by Mr. Truman's attempt to clarify our policy regarding Formosa by announcing that under no circumstances are we contemplating annexation but are concerned solely with temporary expedients to check a spread of overt war in the Far East.

The prospect, viewed from any angle, is grim. We can only hope for time to build up our armed strength to a point at which our commitments are matched by power in being. That will mean billions for the expansion of production facilities here and in Europe, billions for arms for the Atlantic Pact nations. It will mean a tremendous strain on our economy.

Already profiteering and hoarding have started. The President did not ask for price controls or rationing of consumer goods; the Republicans would prefer "voluntary" controls, and Senate Democrats most earnestly want to avoid passing a new tax bill before they go home to seek reelection. But no easy solution to the problems and dangers in which we are engulfed will be found, and events will quickly force more realistic concepts. Some members of Congress already understand that even a partial mobilization disrupts millions of lives and cannot be carried out in a democracy unless an excess-profits tax is imposed, the available supply of civilian goods is equitably distributed, and prices are kept in tolerable relation to the earnings of workers. Others may be persuaded by events that enactment of new and higher taxes would be smarter politically than to try to fool the people into believing that mobilization can be achieved without cost.



PHONEY PEACE PARADE

London Daily Herald

Can We Do Business with the Vatican?

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

Rome, July

WHEN I asked for a private audience with the Pope to discuss the problem of diplomatic relations between the United States and the Vatican, Father Lafferty at the North American College in Rome looked a little disturbed but soon recovered his poise and good humor. Such things, he suggested, were not done for *any* journalist, and was I not a certain person who had written a certain book, and was not *The Nation* a certain magazine?

I admitted the impeachment, and after some further discussion Father Lafferty suggested that I might put my request in writing, addressed to Bishop Martin J. O'Connor, Rector of the North American College, not forgetting to conclude my letter with the standard form for addressing bishops. Did I know this phrase? Yes, I said, I traveled with a copy of the Catholic Almanac. So I ended my petition for a papal audience in the approved manner: "Asking Your Excellency's blessing." I received a courteous refusal.

That phrase, "Asking Your Excellency's blessing," holds the key to American relations with the Vatican. We have played the role of a half-willing suppliant, using the outward forms of obeisance in order to be polite, not quite ready to face the problem squarely. Our attitude has scarcely been consistent with national self-respect. The Myron Taylor mission may be taken as a symbol of our diplomatic failure to deal honestly with Roman Catholic realities.

From his appointment as the President's personal representative to the Vatican in 1940 until his resignation last January, Myron Taylor was the subject of heated controversy, not so much because of his individual qualities as because of his equivocal status. By a questionable legal artifice President Roosevelt had designated him personal representative of the President of the United States to the Holy See and so had by-passed the requirement of Article II of the Constitution that ambassadors and other public ministers should be appointed "with the advice and consent of the Senate." Almost everybody conceded that Taylor could never have been ratified by the Senate had he been named ambassador. For ten years Congress was reluctant to face the moral issue involved in the Taylor mission because of its fear of Catholic po-

litical power. During those years the Vatican used Myron Taylor as a kind of special diplomatic exhibit of its growing prestige in the United States. It received him with full ambassadorial ceremonies and still lists him, in the 1950 pontifical annual, among the members of its *Excelentissimo Corpo Diplomatico*.

Mr. Taylor responded to Vatican cordiality with gestures of homage. Shortly before he resigned, he publicly bent his seventy-six-year-old knee before the Pope while camera bulbs flashed. This photograph was proudly displayed in the Roman Catholic press of the United States and was as good as a twenty-one-gun salute to the sovereign of the Catholic church-state.

IN VATICAN political circles the outcome of the current discussion concerning a possible successor to Myron Taylor is a matter of great moment. American generosity is the chief source of Catholic revenue, and American support is the Vatican's chief protection against communism. The Pope's prestige is deeply involved in the future of Vatican-American diplomatic relations not only because he is the head of the church but also because he is a life-long professional diplomat who still holds, nominally at least, the office of Secretary of State.

Political diplomacy has become increasingly important in the Catholic system of power in recent years. Although the Vatican's Office of the Secretariat of State does not have the full status of a Congregation, two factors have united to give it more weight than most of the twelve Congregations, five Offices, and three Tribunals which make up the Roman Curia. Those factors are the onward march of communism, which threatens to destroy Catholic political power in Eastern Europe and the Orient, and the rapid development of Catholic political parties in Italy, Germany, Belgium, and the Netherlands. Some situation arises almost every day in which the Vatican's diplomatic attitude may affect the future course of history. Almost every Roman Catholic bishop in the world is part of the Secretariat's intelligence service, being morally bound under Vatican directives to report to Rome any facts which may have a bearing on Vatican prestige or policy. These reports are never made public, but it is believed that they are more highly valued than the official reports of Vatican diplomats.

Today, if we include the absentees, forty-two representatives of national states are accredited to the Holy See as ambassadors, ministers, or acting ministers. Their activities rarely make the headlines, but their presence

PAUL BLANSHARD, well-known author of "American Freedom and Catholic Power," is The Nation's special representative in Rome. This is the second of several articles on the political activities of the Vatican.

confirms the fact that the Vatican is a world power. These representatives live for the most part in impressive establishments and are received on state occasions by the Pope with great ceremony. The Vatican knows how to use them to promote or oppose the interests of its political friends or enemies. The recent reception here of Franco's wife, daughter, and son-in-law at the Spanish embassy to the Holy See was a political spectacle symbolizing the Vatican's continued support of the Spanish dictator and the dictator's loyalty to Rome.

Once a week the representatives of the various nations to the Holy See have the privilege of interviewing on state matters one of the two monsignors who substitute for the Pope in diplomatic matters—Monsignor Giovanni Montini, who handles ordinary current affairs, and Monsignor Domenico Tardini, who handles agreements with civil governments and acts as secretary of the Congregation of Extraordinary Affairs. The foreign diplomats may discuss with these monsignors anything related to Catholic policy, from the threat of an intelligent divorce law in Italy to the choice of a king for the Belgians or the cooperation of French Catholic labor leaders with Communists. On rare occasions they see the Pope himself, but they are never allowed to quote him, and their visits to him are more in the nature of homage than of genuine consultation. Occasionally they make their homage very conspicuous, as when they called publicly on His Holiness at the time of the imprisonment of Cardinal Mindszenty to express their grief.

The Vatican gains prestige from the presence of these ambassadors and ministers at the Holy See, and it gains even more from the reciprocal treatment accorded to papal nuncios in the world's capitals. The Vatican demands preferred treatment for all its major diplomats. It insists on enforcement of the rule laid down by the Congress of Vienna in 1815, which requires that every papal nuncio shall be given the rank of dean of the diplomatic corps in the capital to which he is assigned, regardless of the length of his stay in that capital or the seniority of other diplomats.

NOW that there is at least a temporary suspension of American participation in this diplomatic performance, it is proper for Americans to ask certain fundamental questions. Should we have a full ambassador at the Holy See, or a minister, or a personal representative, or an unofficial intelligence officer, or nobody? Can we have official contacts without conceding the Vatican's right to exercise partial temporal sovereignty over American Catholics?

The last question I shall try to answer in a later article. Here I should like to consider certain facts that seem to indicate the failure of our present policy.

Myron Taylor was a Presidential messenger rather

than an envoy, and he was not entirely to blame for his equivocal role. Undoubtedly he performed a useful service in the years between 1940 and 1943, when he acted as a two-way carrier of fact and opinion between Pius XII and Roosevelt. He might have been much more than a messenger, but he failed to seize the opportunity to perform the service that a permanent envoy might have performed if he had cared to stand squarely for democracy against certain aspects of Vatican policy. During the ten years of his nominal service he was in Rome perhaps 10 per cent of the time and made thirteen visits to the Vatican. He did not open a residence, as most ambassadors do, but lived at the Grand Hotel and established his office in a building on the Via Boncompagni adjoining the American embassy to Italy.



Myron Taylor

Here in Rome the fiction that Taylor was only a personal representative of the President was virtually abandoned. He occupied a seven-room suite in a State Department building and paid no rent for its use. The two men who did most of the work of his office—Harold H. Tittman, who served as his war-time assistant and actually lived in the Vatican for a time during the war, and Franklin C. Gowen, his assistant in more recent years—were foreign-service officers of the State Department who continued to draw department salaries while they were working for Taylor. But Taylor never even showed them his reports. He operated his office in the manner of an old-fashioned autocrat who felt no obligation to stay at his post when things were dull. When he resigned in December, the Vatican was at first somewhat relieved, feeling that almost any successor might be an improvement if he would stay in Rome. And according to one good "informed source," the Pope had regretted that Taylor, as a steel millionaire, was so perfect a target for left-wing jibes at Vatican-American cooperation.

The embassy itself, visitors are assured, has no contacts with the Vatican. Nor does it make any studies or reports about the Vatican and its policies. The United States has about 600 employees in the embassy and the ECA, but it has nobody, literally nobody, assigned to the study and understanding of the third most important force in the diplomatic world today. When the embassy wishes to communicate with the Vatican, it can

send a message through Washington, and the message can then be relayed through Cardinal Spellman back to the appropriate authorities in Rome. Spellman is recognized here as the chief political spokesman of the church in the United States, but his prestige has declined notably since his exchange of letters with Mrs. Roosevelt.

Why must the embassy preserve this strange aloofness from the Vatican? The answer lies chiefly in the prideful stubbornness of the Vatican. The Pope insists that he will be dealt with on his own terms or not at all. He flatly refuses to do business with any diplomat or any embassy in Rome not exclusively accredited to him or the Holy See. He will not accept as a part-time representative any diplomat also accredited to the government of Italy. He evidently reasons that the acceptance of such a diplomat might imply that the church is only a religious institution operating within another commonwealth, instead of an independent and sovereign temporal power.

IN SPITE of the anomalies of the situation, Mr. Taylor might have been much more than a messenger here if he had had the outlook of a vigorous opponent of fascism and a vigorous champion of the separation of church and state. He was, on the contrary, notably tolerant of fascism, quite uninterested in the Vatican's fight against public education, and silent about such undemocratic measures as the discrimination against ex-priests contained in the Mussolini-Vatican concordat of 1929. He is a Protestant, but he seems to have forgotten that Protestants were originally Catholics who protested against ecclesiastical dictatorship.

His shortcomings as a Protestant were revealed in a painful incident in May, 1949, when he privately read to a group of American Protestant leaders in New York some of his reports to President Truman about the efforts of the World Council of Churches to get the cooperation of the Vatican. The reports were so uninformed and so biased in favor of the Vatican that the Protestant leaders finally protested openly against their misrepresentations. In 1948 he made a public statement which indicated that the Protestant churches of the world rather than the Vatican were blocking plans for Christian unity, whereas any student of the movements toward Christian unity during the last century knows that the chief obstacle to cooperation has been the arrogant demand of the Vatican that Christendom should return to the bosom of Rome—and discuss the matter afterward.

In the total picture of Vatican-American relations, these shortcomings of Mr. Taylor are relatively unimportant. Taylor avoided the vital conflicts between American democracy and Vatican policy because Washington wanted him to avoid them. In the last analysis the Taylor mission failed because the United States had no affirmative policy for dealing with the Vatican.

No Comment

MRS. PARASKA MARIUTZAN . . . will have to wait a month to find out whether she can keep her job as a scrub-woman at Minneapolis post office. Her attorney, Samuel Segal, said . . . it will take that long for a federal loyalty board to decide whether she and her husband have ever been on overly intimate terms with Communists and Communist literature. . . . Mrs. Mariutzan has been employed at the post office since 1943. She earns \$31.87 a week. Segal said jealousy of a woman who wants Mrs. Mariutzan's job was responsible for the charges.—From the *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, May 17.

PHONE OPERATORS

IN JERSEY GET RISE

HIGHER RATE ASKED

Company Files for \$9,800,000

Increase to Meet Added

Cost of \$2,250,000

—Headline from the *New York Times*, April 21.

"I DON'T BELIEVE there is any group of men anywhere in this country doing a better job or a more intelligent job of saving our freedom than you here in the Cotton Manufacturers' Association of Georgia."—From an address delivered in Daytona Beach, Florida, on May 18 by Dr. Norman Vincent Peale.

There are six reasons

I would like to be your

CLERK OF THE DISTRICT COURT

My wife, four youngsters, and myself

FRED H. INGRAM

—Advertisement in a Montana newspaper, June 15.

ANNOUNCEMENT OF: The formation of a group of students and instructors who will make a study of and investigate the manner and extent to which cultural organizations have been and are being infested with agents of the Socialistic State. . . . The organizations and educational facilities which are most infected with the disease of socialism are: colleges, Hollywood motion-picture industry, various student clubs on college campuses, newspaper editorial and book-review staffs, high-school textbooks, not to mention a host of leftists who roost in our colleges as instructors and professors, many of whom hold high positions. . . . We will invite scholars and journalists only of the highest caliber and intellect, such as Westbrook Pegler, George Sokolsky, John T. Flynn, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Dr. J. B. Matthews, . . . and former FBI agents. . . . An attempt will be made to list all sympathizers and apologists for socialism here at Penn, for future reference. . . . We are not concerned with Communist Party members. Instead we will be more concerned with pink professors. . . . All persons interested in joining this organization please write to . . . Pennsylvania Committee for the Exposure of Socialist Propaganda.—Advertisement in the *University of Pennsylvania Daily Pennsylvanian*, April 14.

MAN BITES DOG

BY JERRY TALLMER

IF YOUR morale has sagged in the gathering darkness of the past month, you may get at least a temporary lift, perverse as it may be, from the realization that the journalistic hop-heads of the far right and left are suffering even worse discomfort. On the right fringe the chronic schizophrenia of the arch-reactionary isolationists has reached its ultimate stage—the nervous breakdown—and on all but a few banal subjects (the incompetent Administration, the perfidious United Nations) they grope, inarticulately and impotently, for expression and policy. On the extreme left, while the customary delusions of grandeur and persecution have ballooned to immense and ludicrous proportions, much energy has had to be spent deploring the sudden disaffection of certain former stable mates. As a matter of fact, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between rantings on the right and ravings on the left. As supporting evidence for these generalizations I can only supply here a few illustrations from many offered since June 26 in certain columns of the *New York Daily News* and *Journal-American*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *New York Daily Worker*.

Let's start with John O'Donnell, blustering, colorful Washington columnist for the *Daily News*. The day after the North Koreans broke over the border, he announced that "Southern Korea . . . isn't worth a black eye on the face of one American soldier" and suggested that the motivation for the putsch was simply "to give the boys in Moscow and their satellites a big (and deserved) horse laugh at the expense of the G. O. P.'s big-shot, bipartisan foreign-policy expert, the lugubrious John Foster Dulles." Two days later O'Donnell predicted that "it's now only a matter of hours before Harry Truman will have to pick himself a new Secretary of State" but ignored the real events of the moment—the United Nations Security Council vote for police action to restore the peace. And even after General MacArthur, who is O'Donnell's idol, had flown to the front the next day, all the *News* columnist had to say was that "the master-minds who run this Republic" were about to "get us into a shooting war."

He picked this theme up again on July 3: "Thanks to the creation of the U. N., Truman is able to by-pass the Constitution and Congress on the road to White House dictatorship with more plausible adroitness than the smooth F. D. R. possessed." Not until July 5 did he touch upon the line, now standard for America Firsters, which the *New York Post* has neatly satirized as "MacArthur's war if we win; Truman's if we lose." On that day O'Donnell proclaimed the necessity of "giving General MacArthur the support which he didn't get at Bataan to win a fight into which the Republic has been sucked or betrayed or stumbled." Since then, O'Donnell has had literally nothing positive to offer, although almost every column is devoted to a blast at some facet or another of "this Korea adventure of ours" or "this Truman 'police action'."

As for the *Daily News* editorials, which are usually

shorter and sharper than O'Donnell's stuff, they have carefully avoided almost all but the most peripheral comment and have adopted the escape method of the Socratic inquiry: "Under Which Flag" (should our boys fight?); "Is It a War Now, Harry?"; "Is It a Fight or a Frolic?" The *News* is positive only in its allegiance to MacArthur, to whom it would, if it could, turn over our entire Asian problem. Its only editorial remarks (July 18) on Nehru's effort to bring Washington and Moscow to an understanding have been strangely mild, rejecting the admission of Communist China to the U. N. as international blackmail yet wistfully concluding: "It would be lovely to end the Korean war right now. But not that way, Joe, not that way." The most interesting editorial in the *News* since June 26 appeared on the Fourth of July. It was called "The War We Didn't Win" and was an otherwise unexplained summary of the events of the War of 1812.

The affinity of the *Chicago Tribune* for something resembling the Communist Party's line on Korea has already been widely mentioned—in *Time*, *Life*, the *Washington Post*, the *New York Post*, and on an NBC news program, among other places. I think it will suffice here to note that the *Tribune* found it necessary to insist editorially, on July 14, that it was not true that a copy of the *Daily Worker* was placed on the good Colonel's desk every morning. The *Tribune* has attacked the President, step by step, for issuing an "illegal declaration of war," for ignoring Congress, for pressing for an extension of the draft, and generally for getting "this country and Korea in a mess." In words that could almost certainly be found in some issue of the *Worker*, it has written off the U. N. vote on Korea because it thinks there is "little wonder the U. N. should vote Mr. Truman's way. Anything he has got was bought and paid for." In more than one four-color, front-page cartoon the *Tribune* has dismissed the Korean fighting as some sort of sanctuary for a Democratic donkey plagued by "national criticism."

Finally, there's Westbrook Pegler, of the *Journal-American* and many other newspapers. Since June 26 Mr. Pegler has written three columns on the Buchanan committee, which he feels is smearing Messrs. Kamp, Rumely, *et al.*, two columns calling for the death penalty for Communists (domestic), one suggesting they be put in concentration camps, two denouncing unionism, and a number nostalgically harking back to such events as "How the Great Yankees Won the Pennant in 1926." But in all this time, according to my files, he has only twice written directly on the Korean situation. And the first of these (July 1) was just a moody jumble of reflections about the United Nations headquarters building in New York City—"a pile of majestic and morose ugliness." Pegler wonders whether Stalin will blow it up. On July 13 he faces up to "the Franklin D. Roosevelt memorial war":

The more North Koreans we kill, the worse the feeling will grow until very soon all North Koreans . . . will regard us as their deadly enemies. If we are kicked out of Korea, the South Koreans soon will hate us, too. . . . The future is impenetrably dark, and thought in that direction is blocked.

Feel better? Next week: The *Daily Worker's* crisis.

Slum Clearance Boomerangs

BY CHARLES ABRAMS

IN THE package of decisions on minority rights handed down by the Supreme Court a few weeks ago one that passed almost unnoticed was the unexplained refusal to review the Stuyvesant Town case. This action meant that the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company had won its eight-year fight to ban Negroes from its \$93,000,000 publicly subsidized housing project. The four-to-three decision of New York's Court of Appeals will stand undisturbed.

The petition to review the New York decision had been under consideration by the Supreme Court for eight months. That it was denied simultaneously with the issuance of progressive decisions limiting racial segregation on railroads and in colleges suggests that the court may have been prompted by the new "judicial statesmanship" that dictates caution in passing on questions which might prove embarrassing or untimely.

Last October, in an opinion in another case, Justice Frankfurter set down the technical reasons for the court's refusal to review decisions of lower courts. None of them applied to the Stuyvesant Town case. But he added:

A decision may satisfy all these technical requirements and yet may commend itself for review to fewer than four members of the court. Pertinent considerations of judicial policy here come into play. A case may raise an important question, but the record may be cloudy. It may be desirable to have different aspects of an issue further illumined by the lower courts. Wise adjudication has its own time for ripening.

This seems to mean that due process today requires not only the process but the issue to be "due."

The record in the Stuyvesant Town case was far from "cloudy." Metropolitan conceded that it intended to bar Negroes. "Negroes and whites don't mix," it maintained. While it did not deny that it had received \$53,000,000 in tax subsidies, that the city had condemned the land, that city streets worth \$2,000,000 had been made the company's property, it insisted that the project was private.

There were no issues of fact in the case. There was only the single, simple constitutional question: May a company upon which the city bestows the benefits of public powers and subsidies belonging to all the people use them to benefit only white people? Rarely has a constitutional issue been presented in clearer focus than

this was in the prevailing and dissenting opinions of New York's Court of Appeals. The dissenting opinion of Judge Fuld underscored the importance of the case in no uncertain terms:

It is impossible to balance the essence of democracy against fireproof buildings and well-kept lawns . . . the constitutions, federal and state, forbid our putting the former into the judicial scales, just as they forbade the city officials from putting it upon the bargaining table. . . . this undertaking was a governmentally conceived, governmentally aided, and governmentally regulated project. . . . The construction and operation of Stuyvesant Town are not matters of "merely private concern." . . . Everywhere in evidence are the voice and authority of the state and city. . . . Stuyvesant is in no sense an ordinary private landlord. . . . The argument overlooks that the constitutional rights of American citizens are involved and that such rights may not be used as pawns in driving bargains. . . . The mandate that there be equal protection of the laws, designed as a basic safeguard for all, binds us and respondents as well to put an end to this discrimination.

The majority decision, however, held that the project was private.

WITH the urban-redevelopment program about to get under way in dozens of cities, the Stuyvesant Town decision may sanction some appalling mass evictions. The infiltration of Negroes, Mexicans, and other minorities into sections where they are not wanted has produced a planned effort to oust them at all costs. They have been crowded into cellars, coal bins, crates, and garages. The overcrowding of non-whites is already four times as great as that of whites; in proportion to their number six times as much of their housing is substandard. Each eviction only intensifies the overcrowding. Public housing is providing for hardly 5 per cent of those dispossessed.

Thus tens of thousands of Negroes, Mexicans, and others, throughout the country, will feel the sting of the Stuyvesant Town decision as they receive writs of eviction to make way for subsidized private operations from which they will be banned. Even now they are being shunted about and ousted from slum to slum as the buildings where they live are razed for public improvements and housing projects. Many home-owners will see their homes condemned and sold to speculators below cost, with the government supplying the subsidies. When the new landscape is permanently set and the havoc wrought, it will be small comfort to the evicted families that in the distant future the Supreme Court

CHARLES ABRAMS has written frequently for The Nation on urgent housing problems. An article on the slums of Los Angeles was printed on February 25.

may perhaps elect to review some other pertinent decision.

Many public officials have joined with private realtors to oust the minorities or keep them in their place. At first zoning and restrictive covenants were employed. After a long fight these restrictions were struck down by the courts. Now, tragically, the most tyrannous method for evicting minorities has been sustained.

Detroit's Mayor Cobo sailed into office with the open support of anti-Negro elements and five suburban newspapers that frankly attacked all efforts to find homes for the bulging Negro population. Detroit, like other cities, plans to clear out its Negroes and refuses to make vacant sites available to them. The Mayor of Dearborn boasts that no Negro will ever move into the city. A big housing project for them on vacant land was voted down after a campaign by the Mayor's forces.

Stuyvesant Town's policy aroused so much public wrath in more enlightened New York State that the Legislature by unanimous vote banned all future discrimination in similar projects. But Stuyvesant Town escaped. Worse still, the court's decision has established the judicial logic and become the legal precedent for discrimination in other states. Few states have anti-discrimination legislation.

Under the decision of New York's Court of Appeals racial discrimination need no longer be concealed. Public subsidies and public powers may now be openly used to throw people out of their homes to make way for white neighborhoods or black neighborhoods, Mexican neighborhoods or non-Mexican neighborhoods. The new federal urban-redevelopment program makes it possible

to do this with federal subsidy. Land may be condemned for the purpose, taxpayers' money used to help buy the land, and streets surrendered. Here is a sanctioned method for the evasion of the Bill of Rights with all its cumbrous protections of due process. Already a Missouri court has cited the Stuyvesant Town case to justify a virtual nullification of the Supreme Court's decisions against racial covenants.

There remains the question of what to do. Every effort must be made to bring another case before the Supreme Court. The fight in the courts must not be relaxed for a moment. Groups like the New York State Committee on Discrimination in Housing must be organized in all parts of the country to press for state and local legislation forbidding discrimination where public subsidies or powers are employed. A national organization is imperative. New York City should set an example by outlawing discrimination in Stuyvesant Town through a local ordinance. President Truman and the federal urban-redevelopment administration should be called upon to ban federal subsidies where discrimination is practiced. Slum clearance should be postponed where it means mass evictions of minorities, and vacant-land projects should be emphasized.

Urban redevelopment, enacted in the name of social reform, threatens to become a national menace. The blame can no longer be shifted from Congress to the courts to local forums to administrators and back again. The responsibility is everyone's. The welfare of millions is involved and with it a principle as big as humanity itself.

Persia: Rugs Over the Garbage

BY ANDREW ROTH

Teheran
MOUNTAIN-RIMMED Teheran is one of a half-dozen Asian cities which describe themselves as the "Paris of the East." And indeed Teheran *does* have a certain elegance, although it lacks a municipal sewage system and a public water supply. Women of fashion dress in the latest Paris style. Social life is highly polished, even decadent. There is a lavish state opera house, although, alas, the pocket-lining practices of its builder have caused it to collapse.

Teheran looks gayer and more prosperous now than it did in the first year or two after the war. Quite a few new buildings are going up, in a bright-colored Oriental-modern style. The shops are stocked with all

the gadgets of modern civilization except television.

The government seems to have more control and a better sense of direction than it had four years ago. There is no autonomous, pro-Soviet regime in the north to cause concern. Tribal leaders who were formerly independent rulers now join in central-government politics. The army, which used to be disrupted by conflicts between rightist, pro-British senior commanders and leftist, pro-Soviet junior officers, has been unified and somewhat modernized by the Chief of Staff, General Ali Razmara. The soldiers are better paid because General Razmara believes that "a man's first loyalty is to his belly." At the Shah's suggestion new recruits, 90 per cent of whom are illiterate, are being taught to read and write. At the suggestion of the United States the Chief of Staff has provided medical services and military training for the tribesmen, thus converting them into a po-

ANDREW ROTH, a staff contributor of *The Nation*, has spent the past three years in the Near and Far East.

tential auxiliary force against the Soviets. Nobody, however, thinks that the 140,000-man army and the 300,000 armed tribesmen could do more than briefly delay a powerful modern army on the offensive.

Two extensive post-war surveys by American engineers and industrial consultants have reemphasized Persia's unexploited supplies of oil and minerals, its hydro-electric-power potential, and the amount of still uncultivated arable soil. As a result of these surveys a Seven-Year Plan has been drawn up which, if it is carried out, may bring immense economic improvement.

If even a third of the promises of the reform-minded Shah were realized, Persia would easily be the Middle East's most progressive country. On his well-coached American tour last winter the Shah declared himself for "drastic measures, especially against the landowners." When he returned home he cried: "Work, unity, and the fight against social abuses are the only means of salvation!" He has told Parliament that food, clothing, shelter, and health for all must be its objectives.

PERSIANS are an intelligent and subtle people, but the talents that once found expression in poetry now seem to be devoted to fabricating deceptive promises. A frustrated ambassador once said, "The Persians always swear 'by my eyes' to do something, but trying to get them to *do* it is like eating soup with a fork." The web of post-war promises and superficial reforms is like a Persian rug thrown over a garbage heap. It screens the unsightly but does not hide the odor of rotteness.

Last winter when an earthquake killed thirty persons in southern Persia, a local official cabled Teheran that a thousand had perished, and the event was featured in the press of all countries. "Perhaps the exaggeration was deliberate," explained the semi-official *Ettelaat*. "It may have been designed to attract the attention of the government and get some badly needed relief."

Outside Teheran you are struck by the drained, lifeless character of the country. On the scenic all-day railway trip to the south, your train is besieged at every stop by hungry peasants—not professional beggars—who cry "*Khanna, khanna!*" ("Food, food!") and try desperately to sell you wildflowers for a few rials. Yet only fifteen million people inhabit a country three times the size of France. Hardly a tenth of the arable land is cultivated. Most peasants are tenants, and are always so deep in debt that they are unable to take up more land and make it profitable. In the far south the economic disintegration is complete except in the British-owned oil fields and refineries. About half the population has left the port town of Bushire, which is dying for want of a railroad connection.

Azerbaijan, once Persia's "bread basket," is now famine-stricken. Tabriz, the capital, was likened recently to a "medieval painter's conception of Dante's Inferno,"

so filled was it with starving people begging for work and bread. The poverty of the peasants caused by two successive bad harvests has been intensified by the locust-like scourge of officials and landlords' agents who swarmed into the province in the wake of the army which overthrew the autonomous, pro-Soviet "Democrats' " regime in December, 1946. In Persia the right to rule is synonymous with the right to loot. Even the relief shipments sent in last winter were plundered by officials.

LIKE pre-war France, Persia has its "two hundred families," but instead of being industrialists and bankers these real rulers of Persia are the great absentee landowners. No rich Persian landlord would think of living on his property, where the tenant cultivators are crowded into squalid, disease-ridden villages. Nor would he think of investing any part of his income in improving his land or modernizing cultivation. He spends the proceeds from the 60 per cent of the crop which his thousands of tenants are compelled to turn over to his agent on luxurious living in Teheran, annual shopping trips to Paris, and expensive American cars. Any "spare" money is lent out at interest rates which begin at 30 per cent.

The unschooled Persian villagers, whose average annual income is less than \$50 a year, have never had the energy to move out of medievalism. They still use a plow which is less efficient than the recently excavated implements that go back to the time of Darius. In America the Shah denied that his people were serfs, and it is true that they have somewhat more freedom than serfs, but not much. A few years ago social workers from the American Near East Foundation gave small cash loans and a few cows to peasants in Varamin, a district twenty-five miles south of Teheran. The next day the peasants returned the gifts because they feared the displeasure of the village headman, from whom they traditionally rented their cows and borrowed their money. Behind the village headman stands the local gendarme, and behind him the Teheran government, which is itself dominated by the landlords.

Quarrels among these lordly families for control of the government mark Teheran politics. There are four real power groups—the palace, the army, the tribes, and the traditional politicians. The great landowners are represented in all four but work most directly through the politicians. The same tired old faces of the tools of these families appear again and again as Cabinets are made and unmade. A squabble over spoils is enough to overthrow a Cabinet; the Minister of Roads may want to become the Minister of Finance, with bigger opportunities for booty. Since elections are "cooked" by wholesale vote buying or official manipulating of ballot boxes, their results show mainly how many officials and votes a particular group can buy up. Only in Teheran is public

opinion strong enough to force a recount when the elections appear too flagrantly crooked—as was the case last fall.

The government is one of the most overstaffed and underfunctioning bureaucracies in the world. The Ministry of Finance, for example, has 3 under secretaries, 17 directors general, and some 350 employees of the highest civil-service grade. Such pay-roll padding compels the government to spend four-fifths of its budget on salaries. Persia is said to have 175,000 government officials, with fully 50,000 of them in Teheran. It is impossible to be exact about the number because one of the favorite ways of looting the public treasury is to be attached to several departmental pay rolls. The Director of Information recently admitted that although he employs nominally about 300 persons, only 50 turn up for work. If he attempted to weed out some of them, the politicians who gave them their jobs would have his head. Parliament once considered retiring 50,000 civil servants but did no more than talk about it because placing unnecessary people on the public pay roll is one of the deputies' chief prerogatives. The civil servants themselves are mainly concerned with lining their own pockets. A business man said to me: "Unless you bribe a government official, nothing happens. Even if you do, you are not sure."

PERSIAN politics are conducted almost wholly by intrigue. A brief account of the contest between the Shah and ex-Premier Ahmed Qavam-es-Sultanah will illustrate the process. Qavam, one of the most astute and Machiavellian of Persia's leaders, was Premier during the crisis over the retirement of the Soviets from Azerbaijan. Pretending to be pro-Soviet he got the Russians to withdraw their army by promising them an oil concession in northern Persia. Then, when the time was ripe, he sent Persian troops into Azerbaijan to throw out the pro-Soviet regime the Russians had left behind. Subsequently a Parliament he had himself fully rigged "revolted" against him and refused almost unanimously to confirm the Soviet oil agreement. The Shah, however, thought that Qavam, who had always been antagonistic to the monarchy, was getting too strong and began to buy up his adherents. The bidding price was popularly quoted at 10,000 rials (about \$200) a month for deputies who would agree to desert Qavam, and more for Cabinet members. Qavam fought an astute rear-guard action but by January, 1948, had to resign.

The necessity of looking "under the carpet" to grasp Persian politics is also illustrated by what happened after the attempted assassination of the Shah in February, 1949. Although the fact has been kept from the outside world by the Persian censorship, the attempt was made by a young agent of the fanatical "Fadaian Islam" (Those Ready to Die for Islam). The head of

this group, Sheik Syed Abolghahem Kashani, the chief *mullah*, or priest, of Persia, was arrested and sent into temporary exile. Then the young Shah moved with unusual decisiveness to exploit the unsuccessful coup for his own political purposes. Martial law was proclaimed. Sixty critical newspapers were sup-

pressed and many of their editors arrested. The pro-Soviet Tudeh Party, which was the Shah's main target, was outlawed, the police having obligingly forged a Tudeh membership card for the slain assassin and even fabricated a diary to make Tudeh's responsibility more convincing. But Tudeh was not the only enemy. Ex-Premier Qavam suddenly left for Paris for "medical treatment" after a warning that he was to be implicated in the plot. In the ensuing military trials of the Shah's opponents no attempt was made to prove any direct connection with the assassination plot. The Tudeh leaders were charged with "activities against the constitutional monarchy" and "diffusion of Marxist ideology." The sole purpose of bringing them to trial was to jail as many of them as possible, whatever the evidence.

Having seized the initiative, the young Shah pushed through a number of projects he had long cherished. A new constitution added a Senate half of whose members should be appointed by him and gave him wide powers to call new elections. Suffrage was restricted, de facto, to literates, or 5 per cent of the population. The crown lands, which had been ceded to the government, were turned over to the Imperial Society for Social Services, headed by the Shah's supercharged twin sister.

A fascinating sidelight on Persian political morality is provided by a dull-sounding official document entitled "Delinquent Taxpayers—Address Unknown." On this list of undiscoverable tax-dodgers are the president of Parliament, the Queen Mother, the Mayor of Teheran, the head of the Chamber of Commerce, and the head of Iranian Airways.

Any hope that the character of the Persian government will change, either of its own accord or under Western pressure, has been stifled by the emergence of Ali Mansur as Premier. When Mansur was forming his Cabinet last March, the United States embassy fought him tooth and nail, convinced that if he headed the



The Shah of Persia

Brandel

government the corrupt "old guard" would be entrenched and the country would receive no benefits from the American loans. The opposition of the increasingly influential Americans, however, was more than counterbalanced by the support of Persia's ruling families. One of the biggest causes for dismay is Premier Mansur's ability to stuff any office with his henchmen and divert its funds. With him in the saddle, it is feared that the much-praised Seven-Year Plan will come to nothing.

BESIDE THE POINT

IF OUR authorities are serious about countering Russian propaganda with an all-out "truth offensive," as they say, they won't mind our telling the inside story of Operation Potato Bug. The Czechs have now filed a formal protest against the spreading of thousands of Colorado beetles, which they say we have been dropping over their country in order "to hinder the feeding of the Czechoslovak working people." Thanks to a microphone that we managed to hide in the hip pocket of a Secret Service man, we are able to make public the scene that led to the taking of this novel step in international relations.

(The President has just seated himself at the head of the table around which his Cabinet advisers are gathered. An unusual air of solemnity fills the room in spite of his jaunty manner.)

PRESIDENT TRUMAN: Gentlemen, I hear the Czechoslovak working people are eating well. That's bad. We can't win a cold war that way—and with elections coming up this year the situation is serious.

ATTORNEY GENERAL MCGRATH: How do you know they're eating so well, Mr. President?

TRUMAN: You have your men, Howard, and we have ours *(turning to Secretary of State Acheson with a chuckle)*, don't we, Dean?

ACHESON: Of course, Mr. President. I have a letter only this morning from one of our Titoist agents in Prague. He smuggled it out by a Trotskyite on his way to Rome for Holy Year, and the Vatican passed it along to us by way of a Wall Street broker.

TRUMAN: Ah, yes, the usual channels. But gentlemen, to get back to our problem. How can we best weaken the economic resources of the Czechoslovak Republic?

SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE BRANNAN: What do the folks eat over there—anyone know?

ACHESON: Mostly potatoes, I believe.

(All eyes turn to Brannan.)

TRUMAN: Charlie, I guess you know a thing or two about destroying potatoes. How about it?

BRANNAN: Mr. President, this is a little different. My

experience has been in destroying full-grown potatoes. We've got to get *these* potatoes before they've even sprouted. Perhaps we could have some of Acheson's agents dig them up at night, or—

ACHESON: My good agents rooting up potato fields at night! Nothing doing.

DEFENSE SECRETARY JOHNSON *(archly)*: Some people think your agents would *plant* more potatoes for the Czechs than they'd destroy.

ACHESON: I resent that. And I will be glad to turn my back on Louis Johnson.

TRUMAN: Come, come, gentlemen. While we bicker here, Czechs are eating by the million. There was a letter in *Pravda* only a week ago from President Gottwald saying he never had it so good.

SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR CHAPMAN: Mr. President, I hope you won't think this is just a bit of local pride on the part of a Denver boy, but the biggest potato pest in the world is our own Colorado beetle. Why not use it?

CHORUS: That's it! Give 'em the beetle!

BRANNAN: I wish I had thought of that. As you gentlemen know, I'm from Denver, too, and I wouldn't want it to get out that I was slow on the uptake. Give me 5,000 Colorado beetles, Mr. President, and I will have the Czechs eating out of your hand, if at all.

TRUMAN *(musing)*: Five thousand—I'd have to clear with Senator Ed Johnson, of course. It's a lot more patronage than he deserves the way he's been knifing me lately. I might even have to let that Republican Senator—Millikin, isn't it?—pick a few of the beetles. Otherwise they'll be squawking that there's no bipartisan foreign policy.

JOHNSON: The big problem, Mr. President, is how we're going to get the beetles over there. Now if our diplomatic staffs could—

ACHESON: There will be no bugs crawling through our diplomatic pouches as long as I am Secretary of State. Let Mr. Johnson get the bugs out of his military machine before he tries putting them into my outfit.

JOHNSON: I'll ignore that. What we need for this job, Mr. President, is planes. Not army planes, of course. That's too obvious. We want some craft that won't be easily recognized. Something like—well, maybe a big flying saucer.

TRUMAN: Wonderful. Johnson, have your aeronautic engineers develop half a dozen flying saucers. Brannan, you get the bugs lined up and cleared for patronage. Dean, get Tito on the wire and have his men report to us weekly on the decreasing weight of Czech peasants. Potato bugs dropped from flying saucers—guess that will teach Uncle Joe something about cold war. Boy, what a Cabinet!

Having read this transcript, who can still say that the Czech charges are outlandish?

R. B.

BOOKS and the ARTS

Our Record in Korea

KOREA TODAY. By George McCune.
Harvard University Press. \$5.

IN ONE of the state papers on Korea which Professor George M. McCune placed in the excellent appendix of his posthumously published "Korea Today" are these challenging words: "First and foremost, it has been the object of the American forces to establish and perpetuate the freedom of speech, assembly, religion, and press in Korea. These freedoms are not mere words to be used to gain public favor. . . . They are absolute and not relative or subject to exception." Thus did Lieutenant General John R. Hodge state the basic aim of the American occupation of South Korea on the eve of the 1946 meetings of the American-Russian Joint Commission, charged with establishing a Korean provisional government.

In "Korea Today" we are given an objective and thoroughly documented account of the failure of our government to achieve either this primary aim or the collateral economic and political goals set by the American policy makers. We are told, for instance, how land reform was early promised but long deferred, though no other reform could have made so great a contribution to political stability and rural living standards. Not until more than two and a half years after the Liberation was there even limited distribution of acreage to the land-hungry South Korean farmers. Extension of land reform to the large holdings of Korean landlords was repeatedly pledged and repeatedly frustrated by the government of Syngman Rhee.

American promises to protect and encourage free trade unions and collective bargaining were thwarted by policy decisions which permitted the Japanese-trained police force in South Korea and the rightist strong-arm "youth organizations" to terrorize strikers and unionists and gave every encouragement to the development of a country-wide company union controlled almost entirely by industrial managers. The resultant disaffection among workers was intensi-

fied by an economic policy that sought to control wages while price controls were blown through the roof.

The tragic consequences of the failure of the Joint Commission to come to terms on a unified provisional Korean government needs no emphasis today. We are indebted to Professor McCune for his clear description of the social and political atmosphere in which the commission's sessions were held. We see how the enormous difficulties in the way of any American-Soviet agreement were enlarged by the shocking vacillation with which our occupation authority dealt with the violent rightist attacks in 1947 on the work of the Joint Commission and its Korean supporters. These disturbances became the subject of bitter and fruitless exchanges between the American and Russian delegates. Constructive measures for establishing a united provisional government were nearly forgotten.

In 1948 the United States was successful in inducing the United Nations to pass a resolution setting up a commission to observe elections in Korea. Russia opposed this procedure, and the commission was denied access to North Korea. Though Australian and Canadian delegates voiced grave doubts of the legality or wisdom of the U. N. commission assuming responsibility for elections in only half of the country, the contrary insistence of the delegate from Nationalist China prevailed. The divisive character of this move was apparent, and it was vigorously opposed by Korean political parties of every complexion except the rightist parties of Syngman Rhee and Kim Songsoo.

The elections were held on May 10, 1948, under U. N. observation that was purely token in character. The entire staff of the commission consisted of only about thirty persons; 8,000,000 voters were scattered over an area of some 37,000 square miles. Practically all the candidates represented the rightist parties headed by Syngman Rhee and Kim Songsoo. Large bands of young rightists were specially deputized as auxiliary police for the occasion.

During the weeks preceding the balloting there were hundreds of killings and thousands of arrests.

Thus did the United Nations fall heir to responsibility for the South Korean regime headed by Syngman Rhee, whose party, in the 1950 elections, held just before the invasion, could win but 40-odd Assembly seats in more than 200 contests.

With the whole world wondering whether the conflict in Korea will mushroom into World War III, it is an unsettling experience to read this restrained and patient account of our unhappy record in Korea. We promised much in terms of freedom and justice. We delivered little. But this is clear: whether or not a diplomatic solution for the Korean conflict can be found, American interests there will be served no better in the future than they have been in the past by a policy that throws our power and prestige to the support of the remnants of reaction in Asia.

STEWART MEACHAM

Elephants and Men

ELEPHANT BILL. By Lieutenant Colonel J. H. Williams. Doubleday and Company. \$3.

PORTIONS of this book were published in one of the popular "slicks." The writing has, among other characteristics, a brisk plainness when describing unfamiliar things which would recommend it to the readers of such magazines. But as a whole it also exhibits other and higher virtues. Besides many strange facts and strange tales, it manages to reveal an unusual man—courageous, resourceful, self-reliant, and at the same time sensitive and compassionate—to whom a fantastically unusual career meant an opportunity to learn, and think, and feel something. One may read it either to learn about elephants or to learn about him.

"Like millions of other fellows, when the war [that is, World War I] was over I began to think about finding myself a job. A friend told me that he knew a man who knew someone else who knew a chap who did something

or other with elephants in Burma. That sounded to me as though it would be just what I wanted. . . . We looked up Burma in an atlas and that night both of us wrote letters. . . . It was 1920 before I got back to England . . . and before the year was out I was in Burma." He was there for twenty-five years, long enough, incidentally, to be caught up in the Second World War and to conduct forty-five elephant refugees over six thousand miles of trackless forest and mountain to India.

Even more interesting than the grand adventures is what he learned about the physiology and the psychology of beasts whom he believes to be extraordinarily intelligent and about the native riders whose whole lives are bound up with them. The fact, he says, that men and elephants live about equally long and come to maturity at much the same age means that they can live together all their lives and acquire a knowledge of one another's character in a fashion not possible in the case of man and any other domestic animal. A baby boy may be born in a camp the same hour that a baby elephant is born nearby. They may play together, grow up together, and work together, and then be still friends after sixty years have passed.

Elephants used in the teak lumbering industry in Burma are not kept in stalls at night but wander free. Thus they can mate to produce the young which keep the working herds at full strength. Colonel Williams tells many stories to support his belief that they not only learn routine procedures but know sufficiently well what they are doing to exhibit in crises real intelligence and judgment. JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

Two Studies of Yeats

YEATS: THE MAN AND THE MASKS. By Richard Ellmann. The Macmillan Company. \$5.

W. B. YEATS: MAN AND POET. By A. Norman Jeffares. Yale University Press. \$5.

IT IS a tribute to the variety and scope of William Butler Yeats that two biographical studies published only a few months apart should overlap so little. Both Mr. Ellmann and Mr. Jeffares have drawn upon the immense collection of manuscripts, amounting to some

50,000 pages, that remain in the possession of Mrs. Yeats. In the use of these freedom has been granted and exercised to such an admirable extent, despite the number of persons intimately concerned in Yeats's affairs who are still living, that we may feel confident now of knowing the essentials.

In "Yeats: the Man and the Masks" Dr. Ellmann writes an almost exclusively interior biography, eschewing not only outer events but critical evaluation as well. He uses the poetry to illumine the man and does not reverse the process. His choice, though it has been criticized, can be justified; for even if the primary importance of Yeats lies in the quality of his work considered for its own sake, nevertheless the study of human personality is a valid and important pursuit, and few men have left as rich material for such a study as Yeats. We have little right therefore to quarrel with the author's choice, especially since he does incidentally contribute to our understanding of the works. He finds a key to Yeats's history in the elder J. B. Yeats, who molded his son's mind even while he provoked revolt. The poet, deprived of conventional Christian belief by his father's brilliantly argued skepticism, endeavored to heal his inner conflicts by either finding or inventing some unifying system of thought. It is in this light that Ellmann explores Yeats's interest in French symbolism, Irish folklore, magic, theosophy, spiritualism, and the final blend of these with some extra Yeatsism expounded in "A Vision."

The most teasing mystery about Yeats concerns his beliefs. Did he or did he not really believe in Madame Blavatzky's occult "masters," in the "truths" of the Golden Dawn or the occult source of the system of gyres and phases of the moon which he used to explain all history and human personality? We cannot answer yes or no. Yet it is difficult to understand his dwelling in a halfway region between belief and disbelief. His father had distinguished between two kinds of belief: the poetical kind—some "manner of thinking or arrangement of fact (such as is only possible in dreams)" by which we "express and embody an absolute freedom"—and the religious, which requires the "denial of liberty." Yeats, wandering in the ambiguous region between poetic

and religious belief, seeking a unity compatible with freedom, built the superstructure of his eccentric system upon this foundation of his father's doctrine.

Dr. Ellmann's exposition seems at times too pat and too one-sided—he rides his father-son horse a trifle too hard; but on the whole his views are so well supported that we can scarcely doubt their truth as far as they go. If he does not solve any of the mysteries of Yeats's personality, he explores them at a deeper level than most writers have done and thus helps to place Yeats beyond range of the easy contempt of small critics. Even the more absurd of the poet's "beliefs" acquire the dignity of tradition, shown as they are here in the light of the symbolist-occultist-magical tradition in France during the eighties and nineties. Passages quoted from unpublished manuscripts make clear—if there had been room for doubt—the life-long tyranny exerted by Maud Gonne's image over the imagination of Yeats. He lived as man lives with a chronic illness or deformity, habitually accommodating his movements to pain even when his mind is engaged elsewhere. Some critics, afraid of sentimentality or disliking the spirit of gossip, have been reluctant to give this continued attachment due weight. But it cannot be ignored, for it haunts the mood and controls the structure of many poems ostensibly on other themes.

Dr. Ellmann writes with taste and intelligence, avoiding barbarities of psychological jargon and the crude theorizing sometimes employed to strait-jacket a dead poet. His style is adequate if not distinguished, and the contrast between text and quotation is never shocking—high praise for any writer on Yeats. If this book is not the best our generation is capable of writing on Yeats, it is probably the best we have.

"W. B. Yeats: Man and Poet" is another matter. The author has the advantage of an Irish background and has not only been permitted to use unpublished material freely but, as he tells us, has had the assistance of Mrs. Yeats in "deciphering and interpreting" numerous obscurities. It cannot be said that he is in every respect equal to his opportunities.

Dr. Jeffares's book contains valuable material. It supplements Hone's earlier

biography by expanding our knowledge of some events in Yeats's life; it prints a great many extracts from Yeats's unpublished writing; it has a particularly valuable chapter, *The Tower*, that throws light on certain of Yeats's symbols. Dr. Jeffares's judgments of people and of literature, however, are inadequate for his task. He exhibits a stiff, rudimentary mind unsuited to dealing with Yeats's subtleties. His criticism is both doctrinaire and jejune. As Boswell too humbly said of himself, he lacks "fanners in his head to separate wheat from chaff." Persuaded of Yeats's preoccupation with women's hair, he counts "over twenty-three" allusions in one volume, only to bring forth his mouse: "There is undeniably a touch of abandonment in them." Of another book he pronounces, safely enough if not illuminatingly, that its "contents are revealed by the title, *The Wanderings of Oisín and Other Poems*." He accounts for complexities easily: "Yeats's instability, a characteristic of the somewhat pitiable poets of the nineties who strove to dissociate themselves from reality and normality, was a result of the unhappiness of his love affair." This rather squint-minded sentence polishes off everyone, we suppose, from Mallarmé to Yeats himself.

It is not imaginative understanding only that Dr. Jeffares's work lacks. The organization of material is so clumsy that we have to reread certain passages in order to see that he has not accidentally misshuffled pages of his manuscript. Though the work is got up with all the machinery of scholarship, its appearance is deceptive, for as printed it is extraordinarily slipshod. "Undemoralizing" is used for "demoralizing"; Ernest Dowson turns up as "Edward" Dowson (possibly by confusion with Dowden); a date cited contradicts without comment that given by the author in an earlier publication; there are numerous omissions of words and punctuation marks, and great confusion in notes and references. Passages are quoted from Yeats that make no sense at all, and in view of the numerous other errors we are reluctant to attribute their incoherence to the poet. From one manuscript Dr. Jeffares prints a short paragraph containing the phrases "infinite pain," "sense and energies," "blending beam"; Yeats himself, how-

ever, in "*Dramatis Personae*" had printed—unnoticed, apparently, by Dr. Jeffares—"infinite pain," "sins and energies," and "blinding beam." "Sense" instead of "sins" could lead us pretty far astray about Yeats's ideas, and we are bound to suspect the presence of more errors when so many thrust themselves upon us unsought. This is a pity, when the material itself is so rich and when so much labor has obviously been expended on it by the author. Printing errors, as some of them may be, need not for the most part be laid at the door of the Yale University Press, as a glance at the English edition, which preceded the American, will show.

ELIZABETH SCHNEIDER

Musical Picture Books

THE ORCHESTRA. By Adam Carse. Chanticleer Press. \$2.

THE CONCERTO. By John Culshaw. Chanticleer Press. \$2.

THESE volumes are two titles in a new series of popular musical picture books called "The World of Music." I can best describe the series by saying that it is very similar to the "Britain in Pictures" booklets which were widely distributed in this country soon after the war. The layout is virtually identical, here again the illustrations are the real *raison d'être*, the accompanying texts are designedly popular in tone, and the scope is determined by the requirements of a uniform format, in this case seventy-two pages.

The contrast between these two books, outwardly so alike, is very striking. Writing a successful popularization of a technical subject—especially within the rigid limitations of a publishing formula—is a considerable challenge, perhaps the surest test of a scholar's competence. Professor Carse, with, as his admirers know, an absolute command of his subject and a simple and charming style, has succeeded handsomely. Mr. Culshaw, a muddled thinker—and consequently a bad writer—who does not know his subject, has failed.

For his text Professor Carse has provided a résumé of some of his own masterly research, mainly embodied in "The Orchestra in the Eighteenth Century" and "The Orchestra from Beethoven to Berlioz." Three chapters

summarize the progress, from its first inchoate stirrings in the seventeenth century, of the orchestra as a corporate body. Following chapters outline the rise of the conductor and the development of the modern orchestral instruments. An entertaining chapter on notable orchestral players of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and another on first causes complete the scheme of this attractive primer.

Professor Carse's command of his subject includes its iconography; and he has chosen his illustrations with the same discrimination that he has brought to the text. As a result, the illustrations alone are enough to justify investing in the book. A few are well-known or—like the woodcuts of instruments from Praetorius's "*Syntagma musicum*"—from well-known sources, but most are distinctly out of the way. Nearly a third reproduce curious items from Professor Carse's own collection. Incidentally, the illustrations make the present volume a useful supplement to his other books.

Most of Mr. Culshaw's illustrations are intrinsically interesting enough, but less than a fifth of them have any bearing on concertos. Portraits of composers and celebrated instrumentalists make up the bulk, but only the superb drawing of Paganini shows him playing a concerto. Among several outright irrelevancies are a fragment of Beethoven's "Heiligenstadt Testament"—dragged in to illustrate a matching irrelevancy in the text—and an elegant portrait of Maximilian Joseph III playing a gamba sonata in the privacy of his family. This last bears the ludicrous caption, "A Concert Performance at the Bavarian Court," and the Elector's instrument is identified as a violoncello.

Mr. Culshaw's text exhibits the same mixture of confusion, irrelevance, and plain error. The section on the eighteenth-century concerto is a hopeless mess. That on romantic and modern concertos, while somewhat better, is still plentifully garnished with unfounded generalizations and misleading statements. The few general ideas not in themselves wrong have been borrowed, more or less badly garbled, from Tovey's essay, "The Classical Concerto." I have failed to divine on what plan the material was organized, and the tone throughout is depressingly philistine.

CHARLES B. FARRELL

On Hospital Service

A PATTERN FOR HOSPITAL CARE.

By Eli Ginzberg. Columbia University Press. \$4.50.

THE magnitude of hospital service today is truly impressive. The author of this book estimates that \$392,000,000 is spent annually out of private purses and public treasuries to support the general, mental, tuberculosis, and other hospitals in New York State, not counting the federal institutions for veterans and others. New York State has less than one-tenth of the population of the United States, but it spends fully one-sixth of the nation's total bill for hospital care.

Professor Ginzberg conducted an investigation of the hospitals of New York at the request of an official state commission and with state funds. He documents excellences, deficiencies, and needs. He makes clear the human significance of technical studies.

Some of his broad recommendations raise doubts. Four years ago a special State Commission on Medical Care, also appointed by Governor Dewey, conducted a study which included the hospital services. The 400-page staff report of this commission concluded that health insurance was needed by most of the people in the state to enable them

to pay for hospital care and physicians' services, and that since voluntary health-insurance plans did not and could not be expected to cover enough people, state-wide compulsory health insurance should be set up. Professor Ginzberg comes to the opposite conclusion. He agrees that widespread health insurance is necessary, but he thinks that voluntary health-insurance plans should cover 85 per cent of the state's population within a few years. His evidence seems inadequate to the present reviewer. Professor Ginzberg admits, however, that compulsory insurance will be necessary if his forecast is not realized.

When experts disagree, who is to decide? The issue seems likely to be settled by the people who want medical care rather than by the specialists who make studies.

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

Books in Brief

KING-DOCTOR OF ULITHI. By Marshall Paul Wees as told to Francis Beauchesne Thornton. Macmillan. \$2.50. An American doctor sent during the war to one of the small islands of the Ulithi atoll to cure the natives of yaws describes his experiences with the simple, lovable, and grateful inhabitants.

A VILLAGE THAT CHOSE PROGRESS. By Robert Redfield. University of Chicago. \$2.75. Chan Kom is an isolated Indian village of Yucatan which, in the words of the author, has committed itself to progress. Professor Redfield studied it in 1931 and published his findings in "Chan Kom: a Maya Village." In 1948 he returned to observe the changes the village had undergone in seventeen years. His new book is an interesting case history of the rewards and penalties of declining faith and increasing prosperity.

LEIGH HUNT'S DRAMATIC CRITICISM, 1808-1831. Edited by Lawrence Huston Houtchens and Carolyn Washburn Houtchens. Columbia University Press. \$4.50. This carefully edited volume contains a selection of the best of Hunt's uncollected essays on the drama, chiefly his theatrical reviews from the famous *Examiner*. Hunt has a great deal to say about early nineteenth-century acting and dramatic literature in general,

and he says it with the winning grace and sporadic profundity which distinguish his "Autobiography" and such delightful trivia as "The Town."

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

IN "The Wagner Operas" (Knopf, \$5.85), a completely new book, Ernest Newman does not merely conduct us through the text and music of each completed work but retraces the development of the text from its literary sources and first sketches to its final form. "Often a point that is obscure or even inconsistent in the opera poem is elucidated for us by his sketches. Sometimes the psychological motivation of an episode becomes clear to us only in the light of our knowledge of the mediaeval legend that was his starting-point." And therefore "it is impossible to understand fully the works of his maturity without having traversed on our own account the extensive and often difficult country over which he himself had to travel before he reached his distant goal."

Certainly that is the way to acquire the kind of understanding of the text Newman has described. But whether that kind or degree of understanding is necessary for the person in the opera house is another question. Newman thinks it is; many would say it is not, and would contend that as they follow the course of the music they need and want to know the essential action as it is presented to them on the stage at the moment, not to be aware that something here is inconsistent with something elsewhere and that the inconsistency goes back to something in the first prose sketch.

Among recent opera recordings is Mercury's LP dubbing (MGL-2) of a Telefunken complete "Flying Dutchman," with Clemens Krauss conducting the orchestra and chorus of the Bavarian State Opera and a cast headed by Hans Hotter (the Dutchman), Georg Hann (Daland), Viorica Ursuleac (Senta), and Luise Willer (Mary). Ursuleac's voice is nothing but tremolo; Willer has almost nothing left of the beautiful voice I heard twenty years ago; but the voice and singing of Hotter and Hann are very good. I am

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aware of some monkey-business in Krauss's treatment of the overture; but the rest of the work moves convincingly under his direction. The overture is not reproduced clearly; but the sound after that is fairly good.

Capitol has issued on 78 an album (ECL-8073) of six Telefunken sides with passages from Verdi's "Falstaff" sung by Mariano Stabile, the Falstaff of Toscanini's prewar performances at La Scala and Salzburg, Vittoria Palombini (Dame Quickly), and Afro Poli (Ford) with the Scala Orchestra under Erede. Sides 1 and 6 have Falstaff's discourse on honor and his meditation at the beginning of Act 3 Scene 1; sides 2 to 5 are incorrectly labeled and ordered: sides 4 and 5 have not *Quand'ero paggio* from Act 2 Scene 2, but the beginning of Act 2 Scene 1, with the wonderful music of Falstaff's interview with Dame Quickly; and if one plays them before sides 2 and 3 one gets the scene from the beginning continuously through Falstaff's interview with Ford, to the point where Falstaff leaves to change his clothes. When Stabile attempts big sonorities about honor his voice has a bad quaver; when he doesn't do that, elsewhere, his voice and singing are very good; and Palombini's and Poli's are superb. The recorded sound is good; but of my review set sides 4 and 5 are a little noisy and side 6 much more so.

From RCA Victor has come one of the outstanding releases of the year—the great *Martern aller Arten* aria from Mozart's "Seraglio," magnificently sung by Erna Berger with an orchestra conducted by Krips.

And on a London LP record (LPS-181) is *Tu che la vanita* from Verdi's "Don Carlos," sung by Ellabelle Davis, soprano, with remarkable beauty of voice and exciting style in long phrase-lines. The record offers another of those assemblages of small pieces that should not be put on one record together: in addition to the Verdi aria, an aria from "La Wally," also sung with the New Symphony under Braithwaite, and several songs of Schubert and Strauss with piano accompaniments by Hubert Green-slade. Of these, Schubert's "Wohin" is not clearly shaped; but his "Lachen und weinen" is well sung, and his "Wanderer's Nachtlied" and Strauss's "Allerseelen" and "Befreit" are done superbly.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Let's Continue!

Dear Sirs: Your issue of July 22 notes "the eighty-fifth year of *The Nation's* existence." Will Rogers used to say, "My ancestors did not come over on the Mayflower. They met it." Born October 25, 1860, I say the same to *The Nation*. I met it. True, I was not aware of the meeting. But I caught a glimpse of the ending of the Civil War, was fully aware of the Grant-Colfax-Seymour-Blair campaign of 1868, the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-71, the Reconstruction years, the Hayes-Tilden controversy of 1876, the assassination of Garfield in 1881, and the quiet years until 1898, when, indicting Spain for blowing up the *Maine*, still unproved, we went across the Pacific. Since then affairs have not ceased from troubling us. Now we are the world's policemen.

Oh, for those quiet years. . . . You, *Nation*, and I, proud of our age and vigor, both still "going strong" . . . have survived the impact of probably the greatest era in the world's history. Let's continue! JOHN E. LEWIS
New York, July 20

With a Narrow Intelligence

Dear Sirs: The lengths to which spokesmen for an institutionalized prejudice will go to prevent another attitude from becoming known are appalling. Specifically, in Charleston, South Carolina, a city with intense cultural pretensions, neither daily newspaper has yet published a review of Lorenzo Turner's significant study of the Negro dialect of the Charleston area—"Africanism in the Gullah Dialect," published last year by the University of Chicago Press.

When Turner's book appeared, I was asked to review it for the Charleston *Evening Post*—as a white Southerner and professional anthropologist who had recently investigated South Carolina speech for the "Linguistic Atlas." Receipt of the review was never acknowledged; an inquiry was likewise never acknowledged; local book dealers have seen no review in either the *Evening Post* or the *News and Courier*, whose book editor had also announced intentions of reviewing it.

Of course Turner's book is not designed for the general public. But Gullah, a widespread Negro dialect along the Carolina and Georgia coast, is a

favorite conversational topic in Charleston; it is frequently cited as evidence of the quaint and childlike character of the Negro; white raconteurs telling stories in what purports to be Gullah have long provided popular entertainment.

Possibly the Charleston editors, with a narrow intelligence, saw in Turner's impressive mass of sober evidence a greater threat to racial egotism than a thousand hysterical mass-meetings. The book shows clearly that Gullah is not just debased English but a creolized language deserving serious study in its own right. And Turner himself is a Negro.

As my review pointed out, the traditional viewpoint has been that Gullah is largely based on English folk dialects of the seventeenth century, somehow twisted and mangled by the slaves as they attempted to learn a new language in a new country. None of those who have hitherto investigated Gullah has ever really studied West African languages or the forms of Spanish, Portuguese, and French that have developed in those parts of Latin America where flourished plantation systems based on Negro slavery. Turner, however, made such studies. An even greater difficulty has been the problem of conducting interviews. Despite the advantage of being both a trained anthropologist and a native South Carolinian, I often found it difficult to make my contacts and to conduct interviews with Negro informants.

Perhaps the most interesting part of the book for the anthropologist is the section, I continued, dealing with the African-derived personal names which the Gullah use among themselves but very seldom reveal to the white man. An examination should help dispel the notion that Africa was inhabited by ignorant savages. One may see reflections of African religious, economic, political, and military practices. The considerable number of names deriving from Arabic and from the history of Mohammedanism and the smaller number traceable to Portuguese suggest that West Africa had already become somewhat sophisticated by contacts with other parts of the world before Yankee slavers began transporting Negroes to the Southern states.

Of the African derivatives used in ordinary conversation, many form a part of the average Charlestonian's vocabu-

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lary. In fact, an examination of the materials collected for the "Linguistic Atlas" shows how far some of these words have been taken into the English language. Many of the Gullah word formations similar to those in African languages have passed into the everyday language of South Carolina. Why is it that some of the sounds recognized as characteristic of Gullah occur in Low Country speech but nowhere else in the United States? Why is it that the speech tunes of the Charlestonian—and those of his neighbors in Beaufort and Georgetown—are different from those of most speakers of American English?

Neither the review nor the book could rationally be considered inflammatory. It would seem ludicrous—were it not a denial of the basic American principle that information should be freely exchanged—that a city advertising itself as a cultural center would not have its attention called to a scientific study of one of the more interesting aspects of its own culture.

RAVEN I. MC DAVID, JR.

Urbana, Ill., June 15

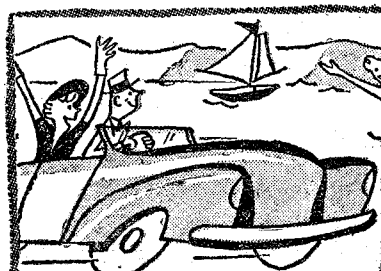
CONTRIBUTORS

STEWART MEACHAM was in Korea for ten months as labor adviser to the commanding general.

ELIZABETH SCHNEIDER is professor of English at Temple University.

CHARLES B. FARRELL has reviewed a number of books on music for *The Nation*.

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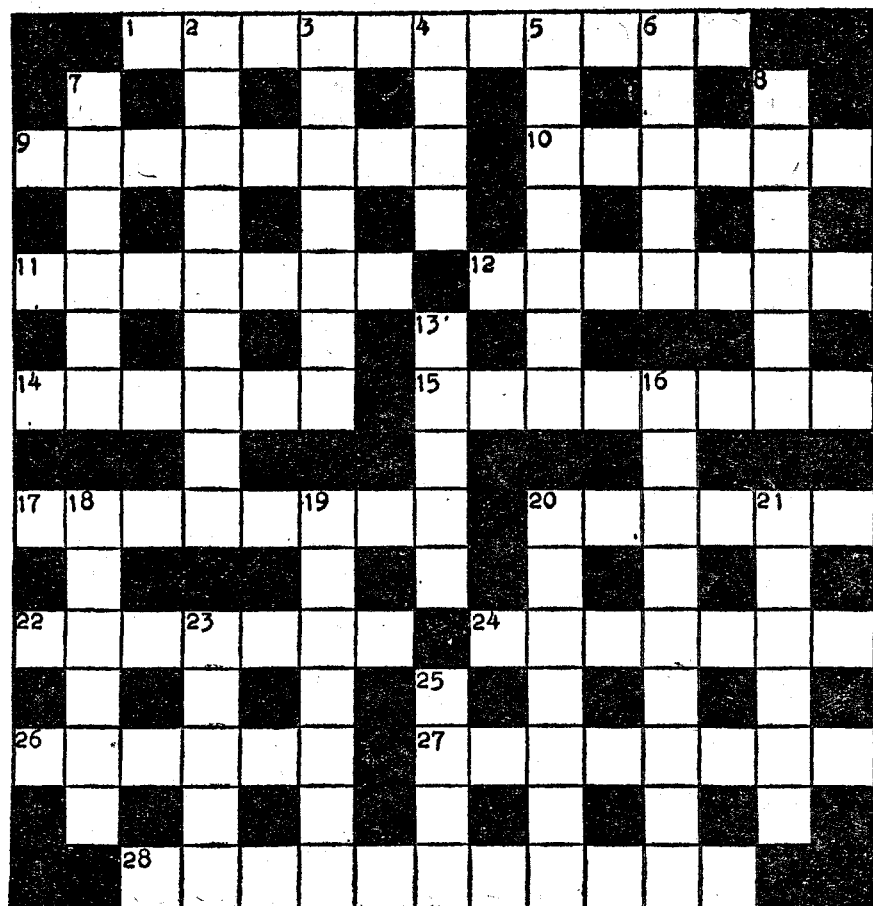
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Crossword Puzzle No. 372

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

- 1 and 8. Requested by numberless callers. (11, 6)
- 9 World association insignia? (8)
- 10 The head commonly finds himself in the soup. (6)
- 11 It's big, but you can make it; I can't. (7)
- 12 Neither particular nor private. (7)
- 14 and 26. It might be novel to give him more than one life. (6, 6)
- 15 Reputedly girlish in April. (8)
- 17 and 22. Upright Alphonso? (8, 7)
- 20 If you are, you'll say 8. (6)
- 22 See 17.
- 24 Era of the common man? (Often Swedish!) (7)
- 26 See 14.
- 27 Exits? (8)
- 28 More dried, as one might expect in the desert. (11)

DOWN

- 2 A granule I go to the doctor for. (9)
- 3 Home appliances and culprits might be so placed. (2, 5)
- 4 What would make this poor? I can't! (4)
- 5 The extremes of 2 are out of sort and underweight. (7)
- 6 The area of nothingness? (5)

- 7 and 1. Format location, perhaps. (6, 11)
- 7 and 17. Drawn to only by the hopeful. (6, 8)
- 8 See 1.
- 13 Less than a step down to such quarters. (5)
- 16 Incense? (4, 5)
- 18 Paris is a famous one. (6)
- 19 Drink to the end of 28! (7)
- 20 His punch is powerful! (7)
- 21 The 14 kind are not found in Detroit. (6)
- 23 On the track of a snake, perhaps. (5)
- 25 22 is best bottled in this. (4)



SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 371

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